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Roman Catholic Church, and the Nonconformist or free churches of England and Scotland in the first ten or fifteen years of Queen Victoria's reign. It deals with an aspect of organized Christianity in Great Britain which has been generally ignored by church historians, and scarcely mentioned by the general historians of the nineteenth century. The attitude of each church towards the Chartists is examined by Mr. Faulkner; and about the only criticism of his presentation of the results of his research in a field hitherto unexplored, is that it might have been well in describing the attitude of the Chartists toward the Established Church in England to have added a page comparing the church to-day with the church at the beginning of the Chartist agitation. Then even readers who have no intimate knowledge of the Established Church in the first half of the nineteenth century would at once realize why the Chartists were much more bitter against the Church of England than against the Catholic and the Nonconformist churches. In 1837, the year in which the Chartists began their agitation, the Established Church was almost as much in need of reform as the representative system had been from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to 1832.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Memoirs of M. Thiers, 1870–1873. Translated by F. M. Atkinson. (New York: James Pott and Company. 1916. Pp. 384.)

This is an extremely interesting book, both because of the personality of the author and because of the events of which he treats, and of which he was himself a large part. The book is a chapter in autobiography, that chapter being far and away the most crowded, the most intricate, and the most useful of a long career. It fell to the lot of Thiers to render an exacting, a painful, and a splendid service to his country after the allowable threescore years and ten had run out. Emphatically the end crowned the work.

The text of these *Memoirs*, of which this is an accurate and satisfactory translation, first appeared in 1903, although it had in fact been printed two years earlier. Several persons had already seen it, and particularly Hanotaux, who reproduced several passages in the first volume of his *Contemporary France*, which "indiscretion" is said to have hastened the publication entire of these notes and recollections.

The volume consists of four parts, unequal in length, naturally enough, as the events described were of unequal significance. First we have a clear, compact account of Thiers's diplomatic journey to England, Austria, Russia, and Italy during the Franco-Prussian War in search of diplomatic or military aid for France. This account consists of notes written in the form of a journal and covering the period from September 13 to October 28, 1870. The notes are precise, detailed, and entirely contemporaneous. They give us clear indications as to why the various nations either did not care, or did not dare, to furnish the aid desired. It was a fruitless but illuminating voyage. One thing came of it. Eng-

land and Russia promised to support any steps Thiers might take to bring about an armistice with Prussia.

These attempts form the second section of the volume. The purpose of the armistice was to permit the election of a National Assembly, which might give a legal basis to the revolution of September 4, and thus invalidate Prussia's contention that she did not know with whom she could negotiate. From November 1 to November 7, the negotiations went on between Bismarck and Thiers. Bismarck was not opposed to the idea of an armistice, but the terms he granted were so unfavorable that the negotiations fell through. During the discussions Bismarck's attitude toward the intervention of neutrals in this war was emphatically and repeatedly indicated. Briefly, this was none of their business, nor would they be permitted to take any part in it if he could prevent it.

The third section of the book contains a brief and vivid account of Thiers's preliminary negotiations for peace with Bismarck in February, 1871, which were the basis later of the treaty of Frankfort. During the negotiations Bismarck described the demand for an indemnity of six milliards as "very modest" since the cost of the war came to four milliards. Thiers contested this statement with spirit and with facts, and asserted that such a sum would mean at least three milliards of profit for Prussia, which would thus turn the war indemnity "into a mere financial speculation". During these negotiations the Swiss minister, Kern, wishing to point out the interests of his country, had an interview with Bismarck in which he was very badly received. "What are you coming here for?" Bismarck asked. "What are you trying to meddle in? This is a question to be settled between France and us; and you neutrals are not to meddle at all with it."

The larger part of this book, over 200 pages, is devoted to an account by Thiers of his term as president from February 17, 1871, to May 24, 1873, an account written after his fall from power. It is in the best sense *pièce justificative*, an *apologia pro sua vita* as head of the state during the most difficult and trying period. The contents are so weighty, the form of the narrative so admirable, in order, brevity, and clarity, the tone so free from rancor, or from boasting, yet so candid, that it should be read in full. Indeed it is indispensable for anyone who desires to know the political ideas of Thiers, the history of his government, and the highly critical infancy of the Third Republic.

I doubt if there could be a more truthful summary of the presidency of Thiers than that furnished by himself in the concluding paragraph of this volume, written after his overthrow: "Next day I hastened to make preparations for my departure, and to return to Paris after an absence of three years, during which I had governed with moderation and firmness, in the ways of rectitude, sustained by the confidence of France and the esteem of Europe."

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.